

COMMENTATIONES BALTICAE IV/V, 6

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Earliest Statistics of Nationalities
and Religions
in the Territories of Old Lithuania,
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A geographer living very far from his own land can hardly try to write on the physical geography of his own country, but the facts of historical geography very often are accessible to his investigation. This writing will treat of the article of Mikhail Lebedkin dealing with the statistics in the territories of Old Lithuania which were effected under his guidance and supervision in the year 1861.

Lithuania was finally conquered by Russia in 1794—95. During the following generations Russia felt that conquered countries were not sympathetic to the newly introduced Russian order. This dissatisfaction erupted in a revolt of the Lithuanians and Poles in 1831 and 1863. After the first revolt of 1831, sympathies for the Russians were reduced to a minimum. Numerous Lithuanian and Polish refugees in Western Europe organized, and published in various languages many pamphlets and books against the Russian oppression. This kind of information produced unfavorable attitudes of the Europeans toward the Russians and their colonial and imperialistic policies in the center of Europe. The conquering Russians did not know much about the population of the conquered territories. To inform themselves and to persuade outsiders that conquered Lithuania was also a Slavic and Orthodox nation, as was Russia, imperial institutions decided to collect precise statistical data about the nationalities and religions of conquered Lithuania. In view of this task, the Russian Central Statistical Committee appointed its own official, Mikhail Lebedkin, to compile the population statistics in the "Western Region", indicating the nationalities and religions of the local people.

From 1842 on Russia prohibited the use of *Lithuania* in official writings dealing with the territories of the conquered country. Therefore, these statistics, instead of containing the name Lithuania, use the newly coined "Western Region", which from 1842 to 1915 had been divided into nine governments or provinces, viz. those of Kaunas, Vilnius, Gardinas (Grodno), Minsk, Vitebsk, Mogilev, Volynia, Kiev, and Podolia.

In despite of official Russian disfavor of the name *Lithuania*, Russian geographers, ethnologists, and historians, in their private writings, very often used the name of the old nation. Thus the greatest Russian geographic authority, Petr Petrovich Semenov-Tian-Shansky, (1827—1914) prepared a special volume dedicated to Lithuania Proper, comprising the governments of Kaunas, Vilnius, Gardinas, and Suvalkai.¹⁾ The Polish demographer E. Czyński (1887) understood Lithuania as comprising the same area, but without the government of Gardinas.²⁾ The Polish geographic dictionary, "Słownik Geograficzny",³⁾ 1884, and the Polish encyclopedia of S. Olgebrand also considered Lithuania as consisting of the four above-mentioned provinces.⁴⁾ Following the example of the Russian scientists, we will subdivide the "Western Region" of M. Lebedkin into three national zones. Thus Lithuania will comprise the governments of Kaunas, Vilnius, Gardinas, and Suvalkai. The governments of Volynia, Kiev, and Podolia are parts of Ukraine; and those of Minsk, Mogilev, and Vitebsk are Belorussian, although the three western districts of Vitebsk have a strong majority of Latvians and are usually included in Latvia.

The statistics of Lebedkin do not deal with the government of Suvalkai, as that province was part of the autonomous Polish kingdom. The "Western Region" plus the Suvalkai government embraces 422,554 square versts or 471,000 square kilometers. The area of this region roughly corresponds to the boundaries of historical Lithuania of the years 1514—1569. After the reduction of the government of Suvalkai, Lebedkin's statistics cover a territory of 458,794 square kilometers.

¹⁾ P. P. Semenov-Tyan-Shanskiy: Geograficheskostatisticheskii slovar' Rossiyskoy Imperii, tom III, Sanktpeterburg, 1867, P. 63.

²⁾ Wisła, miesięcznik geograficzno-etnograficzny. Vol. I, Warszawa, 1887. Article of E. Czyński (in Polish): "Ethnographic and statistical survey of the number and settlement of the Polish people"; p. 129 etc.

³⁾ Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich (The Geographic Dictionary of the Kingdom of Poland and of the Other Slavic Lands.) Vol. V, Warszawa, 1884; pp. 336—337.

⁴⁾ S. Olgebranda Encyklopedia Powszechna (S. Olgebrand's Universal Encyclopedia), Vol. XII, Warszawa, 1902: "Lithuanians have populated the governments of Wilno, Grodno, Kowno, and Augustowo; together with the Samogitians, they are distinguished by the language older than Polish." p. 144.

Lebedkin's Opinions and Intentions

We have no information about the circumstances in which Lebedkin completed his statistical work, but it seems that most of his work was done in 1860, as one year later he had already published in a Russian geographic review a concise statistical abstract of the "Western Region" in thirty pages. We possess his paper "About the National Composition of the Population of the Western Region of the Russian Empire" published in "The Notes of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society," St. Petersburg, 1861, Book III, p. 131—160.⁵⁾

Lebedkin collected all his statistical information from Orthodox and Catholic parish registers supplied to him by the rectors of the corresponding churches. Thus his informers were Catholic and Orthodox clergymen. The minor groups (Germans, Jews and Tartars) were calculated by the Provincial Statistical Committees, who supplied him with religious and ethnic statistical tables. In those times, a vast majority of Catholic clergymen belonged to the landed nobility which was partially imbued with Polish political orientation. This orientation in those days was just slightly opposed to the weak Lithuanian separatist movement, which gained force only about 1883. In 1860 the Lithuanian national renaissance was just in its infancy and because of its weakness it did not irritate Polonized clergymen or Russian officials.

The Orthodox clergy were strongly imbued with Russian culture and the Russian way of life despite of the fact that many of them were of Belorussian or Ukrainian descent. In those days Belorussian and Ukrainian separatism was hardly noticeable in the limits of the Russian empire and therefore many Russian clergymen did not consider it wrong to list the local population under the Russian, Belorussian, and Ukrainian columns. However, in the outskirts of ethnic regions, they were trying to find more real Russians (in the case of the Russian pastors) and more Poles (when the population was counted by the Polish pastor).

⁵⁾ Mikhail Lebedkin: "O plemennom sostave narodonaseleniya Zapadnogo Kraya Rossiyskoy Imperii" (On the National Composition of the Population of the Western Region of the Russian Empire), Zapiski Imperatorskogo Russkogo Geograficheskogo Obshchestva, knizhka tret'ya, Sanktpeterburg, 1861. Pages 131—160. The same monograph has been published in "Vestnik Yugo-Zapadnoy Russii," Kiyev, 1862.

Of the thirty pages of Lebedkin's work, eleven are devoted to the historical survey of the nationalities of the region and nineteen pages contain statistical tables. In the nine provinces mentioned above, Lebedkin finds that the two nationalities which had first settled in the area, were the Slavic and Lithuanian. Much later some Poles settled in the same region. In the Lithuanian group he includes old Prussians, Galindians, Sudavians, Couronians, present Lithuanians, Samogitians, and Latvians. Among the Slavic tribes he mentions, based on the chronicles of Nestor: Polyanians, Derevlians, Krivichians, Volynians, Trivertsians, Ulichians, and Croats — all included under the old Rus nationality. Later, Russians, Ukrainians, and Belorussians were formed of these numerous tribes. Lithuanian Galindians on the Protva and Ugra Rivers south of the present Moscow were very early included in the Russian state, and were mixed and assimilated with the Russians.

In the southern part of the government of Gardinas, Lebedkin finds 30,927 Yatvingians who "speak Belorussian with Lithuanian pronunciation. They clearly distinguished themselves from the Belorussians and Lithuanians by their rough and cruel superficial outlook; thus the Belorussians have a proverb: *He looks like Yatvingian*, meaning, he looks like a bandit. They live in the western part of Podlesia."⁶) The discovery of Yatvingians who do not know their own language any more is a great surprise, as most scholars were of the opinion that this Lithuanian tribe was totally exterminated by the end of the thirteenth century.

M. Lebedkin reminds us that the Lithuanian grand duke Gediminas established a powerful state dangerous even to the Tartar empire. But Lebedkin repeats the usual mistake that in Gediminas' state the Slavs were in the majority. He mentions that Russian habits, religion, and language spread widely in to the Lithuanian state and that many princes had been married to Russian wives who imported to Lithuania their Orthodox chaplains and missionaries. He says that "many provinces dependent on Moscow princes by their good will passed under the Lithuanian government which was able to defend them from the Mongol oppression."

M. Lebedkin explains with usual Russian dissatisfaction that Lithuania did not accept the Orthodox religion and even stopped a

⁶) M. Lebedkin, op. cit., p. 138.

⁷) *Ibid.*, 135.

very well initiated Russification of Lithuanians. For this he accuses mostly the Jesuits whose influence since 1570 started to weaken Russian and Orthodox elements in Lithuania. He falsely states that "Russians were the dominant population always and in all parts of the Lithuanian principality."⁸) But in the other pages of his writing he denies his previous statement, saying that only twothirds of Lithuania and her dominions were Slavic (6,949,533). The people of Lithuanian origin (without the Lithuanian government of Suvalkai) is estimated to be one-sixth of the whole Western Region or 1,614,600. These Lithuanians comprise a majority of the population in the governments of Kaunas, Vilnius, and in three northern counties of the government of Gardinas. Latvians are in the majority in the three western counties of the government of Vitebsk.⁹)

One third of the country, embracing Lithuania Proper, Latgaliā, and many ethnic islands and peninsulas, comprises a compact mass of 2,471,708 Catholics, who by their nationality are Lithuanians, Poles and Latvians. Among the Eastern Slavs he finds only 93,690 Catholics.

Before the middle of the nineteenth century no statistics of nationalities were gathered anywhere in all the Lithuanian territories and Russia. In those days some estimates of the population were made for purposes of taxation, or the churches produced some incomplete registers of their faithful. But the question of nationality was of very little interest to the governments concerned. Before the national renaissance, this was not a phenomenon of practical interest. Therefore, M. Lebedkin's statistics of nationalities and religions, embracing nine large provinces are the first of their kind in this region. Furthermore, his statistics were not planned in detail, but avoided that willful falsification which has been in practice in the later statistics of many Eastern European countries as a measure to discourage the national renaissance started in the second half of the nineteenth century. Lebedkin's statistics were effected before 1863, a year of Lithuanian and Polish national revolt, after which the Russian government started persecution of the Lithuanians and Poles on a grand scale. This practice artificially increased official hatred and decreased the numbers of the Lithuanian and Polish nationality in cases of official

⁸) *Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁹) *Ib.*, p. 141.

estimates, and increased the number of Eastern Slavs. All Eastern Slavs were considered real Russians divided into three dialects: Great Russians, Little Russians, and Belorussians.

The Polish demographer E. Czynski considers the statistics of Lebedkin "relatively impartial because effected before 1863."¹⁰) Lebedkin's statistics were organized in a culturally interesting period; before the liberation of serfs and before the national political renaissance of the Lithuanian nation, which was started about 1883 and was followed by the great persecutions on the part of the Russian government and the opposition of the Polish landed nobility and clergy. Thus, after 1890, there arose an interest among the Russians and Poles in artificially reducing the number of Lithuanians. Therefore, the official statistics of Russia, 1897, and their later estimates were greatly distorted by the desire to diminish the number of Lithuanians, especially on the outskirts of their ethnic region.

Lebedkin's statistics are also valuable in that they reveal the names of ancient tribes covered with the dust of history. He gives a precise number and the counties where the ancient Yatvingians, Polyanians, Derevlians, Krivichians, Volynians, Tivertsians, Ulichians, and Croats lived. These tribes did not preserve the language up to the middle of the nineteenth century but their medieval tribal names were preserved by tradition and because of their relative geographical isolation, since they lived in countries with great swampy and forested areas.

The great variety of nationalities listed in the statistics of Lebedkin in the territories of old Lithuania of the boundaries of 1514—1569¹¹) is demonstrated by statistical table No. I.

These nationality statistics (Table No. I), as M. Lebedkin indicates, do not include army men, travelers, or temporary visitors not listed in the parish registers of the local population. According to the Provincial Statistical Committees these categories of people can be estimated at 771,000. We copy here the Lebedkin statistical tables (Tables No. I and III), following his own order and changing practically nothing.

Here we will try to group the provinces covered by Lebedkin's statistics into the national zones, adding to them the government of Suvalkai, and to compare the increase of population (in thousands) in a period of 67 years (1846—1913) illustrated by table No. II.

¹⁰) Ed. Czynski, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

¹¹) M. Lebedkin, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

From the comparative statistical table No. II we see that in the period from 1846—61 the total number of inhabitants did not increase; it even decreased by some 25,000. This decrease was caused by dangerous epidemics which haunted the region when medicine was not advanced enough to stop cholera or plague. Besides, this comparison shows that in the period from 1846—1913 the governments with a Slavic population grew faster than those with a Lithuanian population.¹²⁾

Based on the rapidity rate of increase for 1846—1913 the governments could be aligned as follows in the order of their rate of increase:

1. Gov. of Minsk	increased	193,2 %
2. Gov. of Volynia	„	185,8 %
3. Gov. of Kiev	„	174,2 %
4. Gov. of Mogilev	„	171,3 %
5. Gov. of Podolia	„	154,8 %
6. Gov. of Vitebsk	„	150,5 %
7. Gov. of Vilnius	„	149,8 %
8. Gov. of Gardinas	„	131,9 %
9. Gov. of Kaunas	„	100,2 %
10. Gov. of Suvalkai	„	37,3 %

As we see that the governments of Kaunas and Suvalkai, where the Lithuanians form the majority of the population, have a much smaller rate of natural increase of population. The exceedingly small increase in the government of Suvalkai could be explained by the earlier beginning of emigration to the United States, which came about because of the extensive boundary between it and Germany which facilitates clandestine emigration.

The National Zones

Lithuanian Zone

Lithuanians lived in their present fatherland for much more than a thousand years. Their closest neighbors, the Belorussians, moved in some numbers into the eastern Lithuanian borderlands as early as the tenth century. Thus they are the oldest immigrants into the old

¹²⁾ Information on population in 1846, 1897, and 1913 were taken from the *Encyclopédie Polonaise*, Vol. II, *Territoire et Population de la Pologne*. Lausanne-Fribourg, 1920, p. 129.

Lithuanian territories. The second immigrants were Jews who came to Lithuania in the fourteenth century. Much later, after 1386, there was a slow infiltration of Poles, but the majority of the Poles in Lithuanian territory are composed of Lithuanians who were induced to change their language and culture and became Polonized in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1861 the indigenous population of the Lithuanian governments was composed of:

Percentage of					
<i>Governments</i>	<i>Lithuanians</i>	<i>Lithuanians</i>	<i>% Poles</i>	<i>% Jews</i>	<i>% Belorussians</i>
Kaunas	728,474	84.0%	3.3	11.2	0.2
Suvalkai ¹³⁾	261,540	55.6%	22.0	10.0	5.0
Vilnius	418,880	50.0%	18.4	9.0	20.0
Gardinas	232,824	30.0%	24.0	11.9	3.3
Lithuania	1,641,718	54.6%	15.5	10.5	7.6

In this calculation the Krivichians were included with Belorussians and the Yatvingians were joined with the Lithuanians, following ethnic considerations.

In the government of Gardinas we find the greatest mixture of nationalities: the counties of Bialystok, Sokolka, and Bielsk are mainly Polish and are the extensions of ethnographic Poland; thus they belong to Lithuania only in administrative, but not in ethnic sense.

Particularly mixed are the counties of Brest Litovsk (Lietuvos Brasta), Kobrin and Pruzhany in which a weak relative majority belongs to the Ukrainians. In 1861 there were 94,740 Ukrainians. Besides them there are several other nationalities: Lithuanians 50,359; Yatvingians 24,341; all together 74,700 Lithuanian kinsmen (table No. IV and V). At that time the Russian colonization of these provinces had not been started; therefore, it seems that the Russian nationalistic clergy listed many Belorussians, and some Ukrainians as Russians. These three counties embrace an area of 14,400 square kilometers including a very large forest of Bielovezha (1,280 sq. km.) Lebedkin's statistics demonstrate that in the northern half of this zone the

¹³⁾ The Number of Lithuanians in the government of Suvalkai (261,540) for 1861 is given by P. P. Semenov-Tyan-Shanskiy, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

Lithuanian and Yatvingian elements predominate, but the southern half was populated by Ukrainians who even today are a dominant national group in this area. In 1918—1919 in Brest Litovsk even a Ukrainian private high school was functioning. Thus the government of Gardinas should be divided into these ethnic zones: Polish zone 9,100 sq.km., Ukrainian zone 7,400 sq.km., Lithuanian zone 19,845 sq.km. This Lithuanian zone has 50,7 % Lithuanians, 13% Russians, 10% Jews, about the same percentage of Poles and Belorussians, some Yatvingians and a few villages of Tartars.

The government of Suvalkai has a strong majority of Lithuanians in the northern districts, but the districts of Augustowo and Suvalkai in the south near the border of ethnic Poland are mostly Polish in language and culture. A contemporary Polish geographer L. Tatomir, writes in 1868 that the government of Kaunas, almost all the government of Vilnius, and the northern part of the government of Gardinas as well as the government of Suvalkai as far as the towns of Seinai and Suvalkai are inhabited by Lithuanians, as well as the northern part of East Prussia up to the line of Goldap, Taplaken, Nordenburg, and Labiau (Labguva)¹⁴). The same opinion has been expressed by contemporary historian T. Narbutt (author of a nine volume history of Lithuania and a nobleman from Lyda) and by ethnographer A. F. Rittich whose map of the Baltic Countries shows on the Lithuanian side the towns of Vidžiai, Ašmena, Smurgainys (Smorgon), Kreva, Alšėnai (Holszany) and Parieče and the border of the Lithuanian and Slavic nationalities passing through the Lake of Svyriai, the towns of Lebedžiai (Lebedev), northern outskirts of Lyda, Vosyliškes, Astrina, Seinai and Suvalkai.¹⁵)

Out of the counties of the government of Vilnius, M. Lebedkin finds five counties with a Lithuanian absolute majority among the Christian population. Thus, the county of Trakai has 93% Lithuanians; Švenčėnai 89%; Vilnius, 83%; Lyda, 62%; and Ašmena 58.5%. They were

¹⁴) Lucyan Tatomir: *Geografia Ogolna i Statystyka Ziem Dawnej Polski* (General Geography and Statistics in the Territories of Old Poland). Krakow, 1868, p. 93.

¹⁵) A. F. Rittich: *Pribaltiyskiy Kray* (Baltic Countries). Sanktpeterburg, 1873, (Supplement map of the Baltic Countries, indicating religions and nationalities).

Also Theodor Narbutt: *Smaller Historical Works pertaining to the History of Lithuania* (in Polish). Wilno, 1856.

Catholics in the vast majority; and the Orthodox were about 6% (see Table VI).

The county of Vileika, the easternmost, had 28% Lithuanians, nearly all Catholics. In the northeastern county of Dysna, the Lithuanians were an insignificant minority of some 2% or 2,150.

Counting only the counties and areas with the absolute Lithuanian majority and excluding those of Slavic majority, we could establish Lithuanian ethnic area and its population (1861):

<i>Sq. kilometers</i>	<i>All population</i>	<i>Lithuanians</i>	<i>% of Lithuanians</i>
97,786	2,187,212	1,551,410	71,0%

In this ethnic area of Lithuanian majority (1861) there lived three important national minorities: Poles, Jews and Belorussians, each counting over 150,000; there were also 50,000 Russians, 41,000 Germans and 2,459 Tartars. (See table VI, A).

It seems that the Orthodox clergy in Lebedkin's statistical apparatus produced an abnormally great number of Russians in the Volkovysk county (23,812) and in the Slonim county (18,328), both in the government of Gardinas. Since Belorussian language is quite similar to the Russian, and Belorussian national conscience was hardly noticeable, it was very easy for the Russian clergy to include many Belorussians under the Russian graph. Even the official Russian population census of 1897 did not find so many Russians in the above mentioned counties, but only 9,700 Russians in Volkovysk county and 4,900 in Slonim; and during the 37 years (between 1860 and 1897) the population of the government doubled, the increase of Russian officials and colonists was also considerable. Thus, in the Lithuanian part of the government of Gardinas, the number of Russians could not have been greater than 16,000; the other 35,000 "Russians" should be listed as Belorussians.

The other defect of M. Lebedkin's statistics is the fact that he did not find Lithuanians and Latvians among the Protestants. In reality, in 1861 Lithuanian Protestants (living in the western counties of Lithuania, closer to the Prussian border) numbered over 12,000. Official statistics of 1897 in the government of Kaunas alone enumerate 10,011 Lithuanian Presbyterians and 9,907 Lithuanian Lutherans. It seems that the Provincial Statistical Committees in 1860 listed thousands of Lithuanian and Latvian Protestants as Germans. Ac-

according to M. Koyalovich, in the government of Kaunas (1865) there were 15,807 Latvians—a great majority of whom were Lutherans. But Lebedkin lists in this government only 2,459 Latvians, all Catholics.

Belorussian Zone

In the six western governments M. Lebedkin finds 2,026,893 Belorussians whose religions were: Orthodox 1,973,340; Catholics 53,553. The Krivichians (23,016) of Lyda county could be listed as Belorussians, increasing therefore the number of Belorussian Catholics up to 76,569.

It isn't clear why in the Lyda county so many people were counted as Krivichians. Perhaps the local tradition kept alive this name of the old tribe which earlier moved to the Lithuanian lands.

The core of the Belorussian land is the government of Mogilev, which is divided into 11 counties, each having a strong Belorussian majority. In the county of Minsk, the Belorussians have an absolute majority (50,563). Nearly equal to them are the Poles (43,093), and there are also Lithuanians and a greater number of Jews. In Igumen' county all Belorussians were counted as Russians (53,362). Evidently the Russian clergy was not interested in finding Belorussians in this county which lies almost in the middle of the Belorussians ethnic zone and where an exceedingly small number of Russians could be expected. In the government of Vitebsk, eight counties have clear Belorussian majorities, but three western counties (Daugavpils, Rezekne, and Ludza) have a substantial Latvian majority. Out of the seven counties of the government of Vilnius, only the Dysna county has a clear-cut Belorussian majority; and in the county of Vileika, Belorussians have only a relative majority, Lithuanians being in the second place. (See Table No. 3). Counting the population by entire governments, the Belorussian zone has the following populations:

<i>Governments</i>	<i>Belorussians</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Jewish %</i>	<i>Polish %</i>	<i>Latvian %</i>
Mogilev	713,375	84.0	12.1	3.2	—
Minsk	661,770	65.8	9.6	11.6	—
Vitebsk	426,808	62.4	9.2	9.3	20.5
Belorussian Zone	1,801,953	70.7	10.3	8.1	5.5

Besides these enumerated nationalities, there were 6.4% of Lithuanians in the government of Minsk.

If we are going to establish the boundaries of the Belorussian zone, not by the governments, but on the basis of the counties with more precise ethnographic borders, and thus separate Latvian counties of the government of Vitebsk, then in the Belorussian zone Lebedkin's statistics would show the following numbers and percentages of Belorussians:

<i>Governments</i>	<i>Area In Sq. Versts</i>	<i>All Populations</i>	<i>Belorussians</i>	<i>Belorussian %</i>
Mogilev	42,134	850,654	713,375	84.0
Minsk	80,152	1,016,986	661,770	65.8
Vitebsk – 8 counties	26,609	456,130	386,919	85.1
Vilnius – 2 counties	10,669	204,500	105,980	51.8
Belorussian Zone	159,514	2,628,270	1,868,044	71.0

Converting the versts into square kilometers the Belorussian ethnic zone, according to the statistics of Lebedkin, would embrace 181,845 sq. km. or almost two times the area of ethnic Lithuania, though the number of inhabitants in Belorussia would be larger than in Lithuania by only 440,000. But the situation in 1861 was more favorable to the Belorussian cause, as their zone had greater religious unity, and a greater percentage of Belorussian speaking people; also their language was more convenient for the common people as it was understood by the Russian government officials and Polish clergy. Therefore it had a greater chance to spread into the Lithuanian zone, producing there the bi-lingual areas in which the Lithuanian language later could be totally eliminated.

The Latvian Zone

The Latvian ethnic zone comprises three western counties of the government of Vitebsk forming the easternmost province of ethnic Latvia—called Latgalia. The area of Latgalia is 12,042 sq. verst or 13,698 sq. km., and consists of the counties of Daugavpils, Rezekne, and Ludza. Lebedkin enumerates their population as follows:

<i>Counties</i>	<i>Latvians</i>	<i>Belorussians</i>	<i>Poles</i>
Daugavpils	51,997	9,622	8,387
Ludza	41,328	14,031	3,445
Rezekne	43,930	16,236	3,354
Latgalia	137,255	39,989	15,186

The total population and the number of Jews were given by Lebedkin only for governments, not for the counties. In 1861 Lebedkin finds only 421 Russians and 48 Lithuanians in Latgalia. The Russian colonists were not sent to Latgalia before that time and the Belorussians had not been Russified yet. The Russian army men were not included in Lebedkin's statistics. The number of Jews in Latgalia at that time probably was over 20,000, and all the population of Latgalia without garrisons may have been 213,000, among whom Latvians composed 64.4%.

The county of Drissa had only 1,773 Latvians; thus in all the government of Vitebsk there were listed 139,028 Latvians among whom 421 were Orthodox, all the others were Catholics. Among the Belorussians of Latgalia there were 6,862 Catholics, the majority being Orthodox.

Ukranian Zone

To the Ukrainian ethnic zone belong the governments of Kiev, Volynia, and Podolia and the counties of Brest-Litovsk and Kobrin of the government of Gardinas. Every county in this zone has an absolute majority of Ukrainians, but the statistics of M. Lebedkin uncover in this zone several very unusual names of ancient tribes not mentioned in the population census of 1897. He finds here the tribes mentioned in medieval Slavic history; these tribes did not speak their own dialects but their ancient tribal names have been preserved somewhere by tradition since they were living in regions remote from great cities and from intensive transportation lines, and thus not influenced by the ruling and assimilating efforts of the governing nations. Lebedkin's informers, the pastors of the churches, reported the following ancient tribes in the Ukrainian zone:

<i>Tribes</i>	<i>Their Number</i>	<i>Counties and Governments</i>
Derevlians	196,900	Government of Volynia: Counties of Zhitomir, Kremenets, Lutsk, Novograd-Volynskiy, Ostrog, Ovruch (62,878), Rovno. All Orthodox.
Polyanians	108,453	Government of Volynia: Counties of Zhitomir, Zaslavl, Kremenets, (27,998), Lutsk, Novograd-Volynskiy, Ostrog, Starokonstantinov; Gov. of Kiev: Counties of Berdichev and Tarashcha. All Orthodox.
Volynians	93,744	Volynians are all Orthodox; Their number is indicated on Lebedkin's p. 142 but the government and the county is not indicated.
Croats	17,228	Gov. of Volynia; county of Dubno. All Orthodox.
Tivertsians, Ulichians	8,398	Gov. of Podolia; County of Proskurov. All Catholics.
Buzhians	74,845	Gov. of Volynia; Counties of Vladimir, (62,163), Kovel, Starokonstatinov. Gov. of Podolia; (532) "in military settlements." ¹⁶) but not enumerated by counties; all Orthodox. Gov. of Gardinas (5,463)
Dulebians	12,904	All in the government of Volynia; in the counties of Vladimir (10,710) and Starokonstantinov. All Orthodox.

On the basis of Nestor's Chronicles, Lebedkin says that the Buzhians live along the Bug River, and that later they were called Volynians.¹⁷) Dulebians were also living near the Bug River. The Croats formerly lived in Galicia and their name is derived from the Carpathian Mountains.

¹⁶) M. Lebedkin, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

¹⁷) *Ibidem.*, p. 132.

The Derevlians, Polyanians, Volynians, Croats, Tivertsians, Ulichians, Buzhians, and Dulebians mentioned in the statistics of M. Lebedkin could be considered as a particular variety of Ukrainians, and the census of 1897 did not separate them from the Ukrainian nation. Because of these remarks we would classify the population of the Ukrainian zone in the following manner:

<i>Governments</i>	<i>Sq. Versts</i>	<i>All Population</i>	<i>Ukrainians</i>	<i>Their Percentage</i>
Volynia	63,036	1,426,427	905,526	61.5
Kiev	44,777	1,718,151	1,355,320	78.9
Podolia	36,921	1,619,004	1,151,995	75.8
Brest-Litovsk & Kobrin Counties	8,911	187,500	70,840	36.6
Ukrainian Zone	153,645	4,951,082	3,483,681	70.3

It seems that in the counties of Brest-Litovsk and Kobrin the Russian clergy was using its patriotism in profusion, counting as Russians exceedingly great numbers of the Ukrainians. Thus in Brest-Litovsk they counted 24,333 Russians, and in Kobrin, 17,731 Russians; giving 42,064 Russians besides 70,840 Ukrainians. The Russians official census of 1897 discovered in these two counties only 29,100 Russians, but 287,400 Ukrainians. In 1897, Russians formed 9.5% of the population of Brest-Litovsk and 4.0% of Kobrin county. Therefore, in 1861, the percentage of Russians could not have been greater, but rather much smaller, because before 1861 Russian colonization had not been initiated. Having this in mind, the Russian nationality in these two counties should be reduced by 28,900, adding this number to the Ukrainians. Then in these two counties the number of Ukrainians would be increased up to 99,740 and their percentage to about 53%. This would be much closer to reality. Even the statistics of 1897 demonstrated that in Brest-Litovsk county there were 64.4% Ukrainians and in Kobrin County, 79.5%. In the census of 1897 in Kobrin county all 22,725 Yatvingians disappeared without any sign; and it seems all were transferred to the Ukrainian column because they did not speak their own language any more and were all of the Orthodox religion. The same census of 1897 did not show any Belorussians in these two counties, though Lebedkin's statistics counted here 3,819

Belorussians, all Orthodox. Besides them Lebedkin counted in these two districts 9,738 Poles, expressed as percentage a little more than in 1897.

Eastern and Western Cultural Zones

Speaking about the eastern and western zones in the lands of the former Lithuanian Grand Duchy, we shall deal only with the phenomena of the last century, and we shall not discuss the long period from 1387—1957, during which Western Christianity and Western culture dominated the Lithuanian ethnic zone, but the eastern culture based on Orthodoxy was preponderant among the Eastern Slavs. A more discerning tourist traveling in these lands after 1387 and even more in later times would observe that the churches in Lithuanian and Latvian areas have a Latin cross and they are built in Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque styles or in some mixture of Occidental or Western styles. But in the Eastern Slavic areas he would see the onion shaped towers of Russian architecture. These divisions of architectural styles among the two different ethnic zones were proceeding by their own natural way, without any interference of the government. Catholic and Protestant parishes always built their churches in Western styles and Orthodox parishes in their own Oriental styles. Architectural styles are only the symbols of much wider and deeper cultural differences which are demonstrated in the structure of villages, in the observance of holidays, in the ritual of baptism, marriage and funeral, in the forms of amusements, and in hundreds of other phenomena of social and private life. In the lands of Old Lithuania two important cultural zones meet and their contours are substantially clear, though the precise boundaries sometimes do not follow straight lines and may be expressed by zig-zags, ethnic “peninsulas” and “islands”. Only the impartial statistics of religion could establish the boundaries of two cultural zones indicating few mixed areas where the problem of a precise boundary may become confused. It seems that M. Lebedkin’s statistics dealing with religions always are impartial and unfalsified.

This western culture during the four hundred years penetrated east beyond the Dniepre River up to the “Gates of Smolensk,” and therefore it would be appropriate to subdivide this old Lithuanian political territory into the zones of western and eastern culture on the basis of Lebedkin’s statistics of 1861, when nationalism was not yet strong

in this area and when even the Orthodox could call themselves Lithuanians without endangering their social position. In 1861, according to the statistics of Lebedkin, we shall divide the Lithuanian territory*) of 1569—1772 into five ethnographic units, viz.:

Ethnic Zones and Population in the Territories of the old Grand Duchy of Lithuania, 1861 (boundaries of 1569—1772)

<i>Ethnic Zones:</i>	<i>Area in Sq. Km.</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Density Sq. Km.</i>
Lithuanian Zone	97,786	2,187,212	22.4
Latvian Zone	13,698	213,000	15.6
Polish Zone	12,600	327,000	26.0
Belorussian Zone	181,845	2,628,270	14.4
Ukrainian Zone	8,911	187,500	21.1
Grand Duchy of Lithuania	314,840	5,673,992	18.0

It is interesting to remark that our estimated ethnic territory of Lithuania (without Lithuania Minor) is very close to the area of Lithuania Proper which had 99,000 square kilometers and to the area of the basin of the Nemunas River, 98,100 square kilometers.

Latvian, Polish, and Ukrainian ethnic territories and their boundaries in the case coincide with religious and cultural borders.

In the introduction to his statistics M. Lebedkin is satisfied that in the nine governments of the Western Region the majority of the population is Slavic and Orthodox: 5,827,896. The number of Catholics, that is the people of the Western culture, he finds to be 2,471,706; with the government of Suvalkai, this number should be raised to 2,900,000, divided into four nationalities; Lithuanians, 1,548,761; Poles, 1,100,000; Latvians, 140,000; Belorussians, 80,000; and other 20,000. These others are mainly Ukrainians.

Three Ukrainian governments (Kiev, Volynia and Podolia) have a very strong Orthodox majority. There are only three counties where Polish Catholics surpass 30,000: viz.

Zhitomir County	Volynia Gov.	Catholics	31,570	Orthodox	121,934
Kremenets County	Podolia Gov.	„	30,392	„	109,674
Proskurov County	Podolia Gov.	„	30,654	„	78,920

*) Grand Duchy of Lithuania of 1569—1772 does not include the governments of Volynia, Kiev and Podolia as they were lost by Lithuania to Poland in 1569.

In all other counties of these governments the Polish Catholic minority is very small and does not increase the religious uniformity of this Ukrainian Orthodox region. Not counting these three Ukrainian governments, but adding the government of Suvalkai, we would have a minimum area which was under the flag of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy after the Lublin Union of 1569 to 1772. This area belonged to Lithuania through the whole historical period of that country from 1240 to 1772. Such a long domination by Lithuania gave an opportunity to the Lithuanian governmental and ecclesiastical personnel to squeeze itself into the cultural pattern of the Slavic lands and to imprint upon them the ideas of Western Culture. The famous Lithuanian Statute of 1529 to 1840, the University of Vilnius (1579–1832), many colleges, the Catholic Church, and Lithuanian administration in this wide territory spread the Western culture, a particular synthesis of Lithuanian, Polish, and Latin elements.

CONTEMPORANEOUS ESTIMATES OF LITHUANIAN POPULATION

Lebedkin's statistical apparatus, composed of Catholic and Orthodox pastors, did not consider that language is a sufficient criterium in determining ethnical constituency of population. Thus, they registered as Lithuanians all parishioners considering themselves as Lithuanians or commonly known as such, despite of the fact that unfavorable winds of history had forced them to forget their ancient tongue, or that they belonged to the Orthodox Church. The largest Lithuanian Orthodox groups were in the ethnically mixed government of Gardinas and in remote southern dominions of ancient Lithuania, where they evidently were colonized by the Lithuanian Grand Dukes before 1386, or not more than one generation later, i. e., in the pagan period of Lithuania's history. We did not study Lithuanian colonization from the first sources (chronicles, documents etc.), but this colonization has been mentioned by the Polish historian M. Balinski, when he writes about the town of Ovruch in Volynia: "Ovruch was an important city fortified with castles, when the Lithuanian Grand Duke Gediminas took it in 1320 and settled it with his own people (ludem swoim

osadzil)."¹⁸⁾ And in this same province of Volynia M. Lebedkin counted 11,243 Lithuanians, 4,812 Samogitians and 4,480 Latvians, all being of the Orthodox religion. This suggests that all these groups had been colonized in pagan times by Gediminas or his later successors in the XIVth century. Lithuanian Catholics partially baptized in 1386, could have been colonized only in the XVth century or later in Slavic dominions of Lithuania. The religion of these neophytes enjoyed a superior prestige among the Orthodox majority and they have not been induced to change their religion even when the Orthodox Church became strongly privileged under the Russian dominion since 1795. The presence of some few Lithuanians in the deep South of their Medieval Empire is also testified by the occasional Lithuanian place names in Ukraine, including the small Lithuanian Penninsula (Litovskiy poluostrrov) near the Isthmus of Perekop in Crimea, east of Armyansk.

Old Lithuania, especially since the XVI century, was gradually following the steps of Ireland by forgetting its own language and adopting the language of larger Slavic neighbors. Nearly all of Ireland lost her own Celtic language in favor of English. Similarly, by the middle of the 19th century about one half of Lithuania was bi-lingual and a considerable part of native Lithuanians did not speak their ancient language any more, using Polish, Belorussian and even German instead. The Polish scholar W. Wielhorski describes this situation in the following manner:

"Enlightened noblemen or buergers of Lithuania proper (gniazdowej), considered themselves as native Lithuanians. Although the language in which they were thinking, reading books, and conducting discussions on the threshold of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries was not any longer Lithuanian, but rather Russian (Belorussian), more often Polish, and among the cultured aristocracy, Latin. Among the buergers often German, especially in Vilnius, Trakai, Kedainiai, Kaunas and Gardinas."¹⁹⁾

¹⁸⁾ M. Balinski, T. Lipinski: *Starozytna Polska*, Warszawa, 1886, Vol. IV, p. 639.

¹⁹⁾ Wladyslaw Wielhorski: *Litwini, Bialorusini i Poliacy w dziejach kultury Wielkiego Ksiestwa Litewskiego* (Lithuanians, Belorussians and Poles in the achievements of culture of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania) in the *Alma Mater Vilmensis*, London. 1951, p. 101.

In the second half of the XIXth century the cities of the eastern half of Lithuania and some suburban areas were using more Polish than Lithuanian. Under these linguistic circumstances a statistician and scholar in Lithuania often had some doubts as to whether nationalities should be counted on the basis of the spoken language or on the basis of their ethnic origin and national tradition. In the official statistics of 1897 as well as in many studies of the last three decades of the XIXth century, Lithuanians were counted on the linguistic basis, thus reducing their number and ethnic area by about one-third.

In this review we intend to mention only the opinions of those scholars who have done special demographic research in the territories of ethnic Lithuania, indicating the years of their research or of their publications. Usually these scholars do not include all of the territories and use different methods in collecting and presenting their information, consequently we do not claim perfect accuracy in making comparisons of their results.

M. Balinski, 1846

The Polish historian M. Balinski printed "The Statistical Description of the City of Vilnius," 1835, in which he states: "Inhabitants of the city of Vilnius (Wilno), as to their origin, are Lithuanians, Russians, Germans, and Jews. Other nationalities are so negligible that they can-not form any group."²⁰) Probably the majority of Lithuanians in this city in 1835 spoke Polish and many were bi-lingual or tri-lingual.

Writing in 1846, the same noted scholar gave a general picture of the linguistic situation of the eastern part of Lithuania, personally known to him for a long time. He says: "The District of Vilnius is inhabited by the Lithuanians. But the Lithuanian language is completely dominant only in the northern part or north of the Neris (Wilja) River; in the south near Vilnius it gave way to the Polish language. Further to the south there is a zone of Lithuanian speaking villages mixed with villages using Polish and Russian. But among the village population of this district the Lithuanian language is numerically stronger than the other two put together. In some places, even if village and personal names are purely Lithuanian, the native language is forgotten. Old inventories or descriptions of communities show that this change came about the time of King John Casimir's wars with Sweden, when wide-

spread plagues and epidemics exterminated many inhabitants.”²¹⁾ Later new colonists came from Slavic parts of the Grand Duchy and contributed to the change of language among the rest of population.

P. Von Koeppen, 1857

A member of the Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences, P. Von Koeppen requested the rectors of the Catholic churches in the government of Vilnius to report on the nationality of their parishioners. Not all pastors supplied answers to his semi-official request, and their answers very often were incomplete and lack necessary precision. Despite of these imperfections P. Koeppen's collected material enables us to establish the eastern boundary of the Lithuanian nation. Here we can mention the most eastern Lithuanian or mixed parishes in the periphery of the Lithuanian ethnic area (purely Lithuanian parishes are underlined):

Tverečius, Kamojys (Kamoje), *Lentupis*, Nestaniškes, Vysniavas, Žodiškis, Vaistamas, Daniušava, Benica, Malodečna, Kriavas (Krewo), Alšénai (Holszany), Trobos, Subatnikai, Lipniškes, Vija, *Žirmunai*, Geranainys, *Rodunė*, *Vosyliškes*, *Nočia*, Žaludkas, *Benekainys*, *Eišiškes*, *Užubaliai* (Zablocie), *Voverys* (Wawiora).

In the county of Ašmena, at the extreme southeastern corner of ethnic Lithuania, the parish of Naliboki is considered as Lithuanian, except for the boyars. In the same vicinity the parish of Derevna is all Lithuanian.

The parish of Geranainys is considered as “half Lithuanian, half Polish.” In Žirmunai — “all Lithuanians, but they speak Belorussian.”

The parishes of Lebedžiai (Lebedev), Molodečna, Medelas (Miadziol), Gorodzilowo, Hruzdowo, Salos (Soly), and Pastovis (Postawy) were considered by their pastors as Lithuanian, but nothing is said about their language, which at present is predominantly Belorussian.²²⁾

All reports collected by the academician Koeppen tend to the conclusion that about three-fourths of the territory of the government of Vilnius has a predominantly Lithuanian population, and this is in agreement with the Lebedkin statistics collected three years later.

²⁰⁾ and ²¹⁾ Balinski is quoted from: Vilnius ir Vilniaus Kraštas (Vilnius and Vilnius Region), Kaunas, 1932, p. 83.

²²⁾ *Ibidem*, pp. 74—77.

P. von Koeppen published his first study on the ethnology of Lithuanians and Latvians in 1827, travelling through these countries and using abundant literature. His work appeared in two editions; Russian and German. In this study he took Lithuania as a linguistic unit and he did not include Lithuanians living in Ukraine, in Belorussia, and even in larger section of the government of Gardinas. Travelling in Lithuania Minor, he noticed that the westernmost Lithuanian church services were held in Norkiškes or Norkitten, 18 km. west of Wehlau.²³⁾ He finds several Lithuanian-speaking villages in the northern part of the county of Sokolka, several villages on the right bank of Nemunas River in the county of Gardinas, and several villages in Sloņim county; in all the government of Gardinas he counts only 2,800 using Lithuanian as the mother tongue. Counties of Naugardukas and of Vileika each have just one Lithuanian-speaking village. In Lyda county Lithuanian is spoken as far as Žirmunai; only the southern part of the government of Vilnius speaks Belorussian. The counties of Šventenai and Breslauja in 1826 used Lithuanian almost exclusively.

T. Narbutt (1856), *A. Koreva* (1861), *R. D'Erkert* (1863) and *M. Koyalovich* (1865) are almost in complete agreement in establishing the southern and eastern boundary of the predominance of the Lithuanian language.²⁴⁾

This boundary is illustrated by Koreva's map (see map No. 1), based on the research of T. Narbutt, noted historian, native of the government of Vilnius (Lyda). It is to be noticed that three of the above

²³⁾ Peter von Koeppen: Ueber den Ursprung, die Sprache und Literatur der lithauischen Voelkerschaften, published in *Materialy dlya istorii prosveshcheniya Rossii*. Sanktpeterburg, 1827. See pp. 21, 94—96.

²⁴⁾ These are the studies of the above mentioned scholars pertaining to the population of eastern parts of Lithuania:

T. Narbutt: *Smaller Historical Works pertaining to the History of Lithuania* (in Polish: *Pisma pomniejsze . . .*), Wilno, 1856. On data from this booklet, A. Korevo bases his map of languages, found in: *A. Korevo: Vilenskaya Guberniya* (The Government of Vilnius), Sanktpeterburg, 1861. (The voluminous work, prepared for the Chief Staff of the Russian Army).

R. d'Erkert: *Atlas ethnographique des provinces habitées par les polonais*, St. Petersburg, 1863. (See his ethnographic map).

M. Koyalovich: *Documents servant à éclaircir l'histoire de la Russie Occidentale*, St. Petersburg, 1865.

mentioned scholars, working independently, arrived at nearly the same results as to the ethnic composition of the five Lithuanian counties of the government of Vilnius, namely: counties of Trakai, Vilnius, Šventenai, Ašmena and Lyda; the percentage of Lithuanians and Slavs being:²⁵⁾

	<i>Lithuanians:</i>	<i>Slavs:</i>
Korevo, 1861	67	33
Lebedkin, 1861	71	29
d'Erkert, 1863	66	34

Koyalovich was a Belorussian professor of Orthodox Church history and was very anxious to prove that there were no Orthodox Lithuanians, and among Lithuanians he includes only those who did not forget their language. His monumental work was designed for West Europeans, and therefore was published not only in Russian, but also in French, with a large ethnographic map of the Western Region, also in French. The southern linguistic boundary of the Lithuanian majority he traces through Vižainis, Seinai, Ašuža (Hoza) on the Nemunas River, a little north of Lyda, through Trobos, Alšėnai (Holshany), Lebedžiai (Lebedev), to the confluence of the Neris and Nerutis, and then to the northern end of Lake Svieriai (Svir). His number of linguistic Lithuanians in the Western Region is 1,199,274; thus, he reduces the number of Lebedkin, given for the same region, by 269,419. This last reduction may include all Orthodox Lithuanians in the governments of Vilnius, Gardinas and Kiev. Although Koyalovich takes exception to the Lithuanian and Samogitian Orthodox population of Volynia (16,055), the territory of the government of Vilnius he divides in two nearly equal halves: Lithuanian and Belorussian.

Another noted Belorussian scholar, E. F. Karskiy, author of voluminous studies on Belorussians, includes in the Belorussian language zone all Poles of Vilnius Government and part of the Lithuanians, who understand Belorussian. Therefore he says: "In delimiting the Belorussian zone we use only the language criterium; in consequence, all those Lithuanians in the government of Vilnius, who speak Belorussian presently in our (map) are listed as Belorussians. . . Thus, our delimited

²⁵⁾ More about this item has been printed by this author in the Lithuanian review "Aidai" (Echos), Brooklyn, 1951, No. 2, p. 84.

zone belongs to the Belorussian language, but not nationality.”²⁶) The Russian government census of 1897 lists 279,900 Lithuanians in the government of Vilnius on the basis of language. But Karskiy considers that there are 400,000 Lithuanians in this government and they populate one-third of that province. The Lithuanian-Belorussian boundary, Karskiy traces through Drukše (Drisviaty), leaving on the Lithuanian side the communities of Tverečius, Adutiškis, Šventenai, Paberžė. In the south, he considers as Lithuanian the communities or townships of Rudiškes, Benekainys, Kanvališkes, Dieveniškes, Armoniškes, and Rodunė.²⁷) It seems that Karskiy’s ideas greatly influenced the tracing of the present Lithuanian and Belorussian boundary by the Soviets at the end of 1940, though four townships, listed by Karskiy as Lithuanian, were not included in Lithuania, namely: Benekainys, Kanvališkes, Armoniškes, and Rodunė. On the other hand Lebedkin’s statistics were displayed in Moscow at Lithuanian-Soviet peace conference, 1920.

Comparing the official census with Karskiy’s 400,000 Lithuanians, we may presume that in 1903 there were about 120,000 bilingual Lithuanians in the government of Vilnius, speaking both Lithuanian and Belorussian.

Important also are the opinions of the Polish Geographic Dictionary. In Vol. V of this great dictionary (XIV vols.) we find the statistics of most of the Lithuanian counties for the period 1860—1863. The editors of this dictionary recognize the veracity of Lebedkin’s statistics of nationalities in the counties of Vilnius, Trakai, Ašmena, Ukmergė, Lyda, Šventėnai, Vileika and the government of Minsk.²⁸) But for the government of Gardinas they increase the number of Lithuanians up to 260,017, among whom they find a greater number of Catholics, namely 136,385, instead of Lebedkin’s 71,168. But the number of Lithuanian Orthodox is found a little smaller by the Polish scholars: only 123,712, instead of Lebedkin’s 130,729.

To estimate the total number of Lithuanian nationality in the middle of the XIXth century we profit by the special research of

²⁶) E. F. Karskiy: Belorussiy. Vilna, 1904, p. 4 and 7.

²⁷) *Ibidem*, p. 7.

²⁸) *Słownik Geograficzny*, Vol. V. Warszawa, 1884 (*Geographic Dictionary*; editors: F. Sulimierski, Br. Chlebowski and Wł. Walewski), See pp. 336, 337, 343, 344.

several scholars of that period. The above mentioned M. Lebedkin by his vast statistical research covers the territory of nine governments of the Western Region. His statistics were collected in 1859—1860 and printed in 1861—1862. Information on the government of Suvalkai we find in P. P. Semenov's "Geographic-Statistical Dictionary of the Russian Empire," where the number of Lithuanians is given for the year 1863 (Vol. III, p. 62—63). A. F. Rittich collected the data on the Lithuanians in Courland (1850), a southern province of Latvia, Professor Fr.-G. Schubert, P. von Koeppen and I. Brennsohn supply information on the Lithuanian-speaking area (ca. 6,800 sq. km. according to Brennsohn in 1883) and the population of Lithuania Minor in 1846.²⁹) When all this information is put together, we arrive at the conclusion expressed in the following table:

<i>Area:</i>	<i>Author, Date:</i>	<i>Number of Lithuanians:</i>
Gov. of Kaunas	Lebedkin, 1861	728,474
Gov. of Vilnius	Lebedkin, 1861	418,880
Gov. of Gardinas	Lebedkin, 1861	201,897
Gov. of Suvalkai	P. P. Semenov, 1863	261,540
Gov. of Courland	A. F. Rittich, 1850	12,147
Lithuania Minor	Fr.-G. Schubert, 1846	252,700
Belorussia	Lebedkin, 1861	65,361
Ukraine	Lebedkin, 1861	49,269
All provinces		1,990,268

In completing this modest study, we can arrive at the conclusion that near the blackest hour of Lithuanian history (total prohibition of Lithuanian printing, schools and organizations) the Lithuanian ethnic territory was 97,786 sq.km. (plus Lithuania Minor — 11,400 sq.km.). The number of ethnic Lithuanians was 1,990,268 (in Russia and in Prussia). But the southeastern sections of the country have lost their

²⁹) A. F. Rittich: *Pribaltiyskiy Kray*, Sanktpeterburg, 1873 (see statistical tables).

Prof. Fr.-G. Schurbert: *Staatskunde des Preussischen Staates*, Koenigsberg, 1846, p. 460. P. von Koeppen: *Der Lithauische Volkstamm, Ausbreitung und Stoerke desselben in der Mitte des XIX. Jahrhunderts*, 1851. J. H. Schnitzler: *L'Empire des Tsars*. Vol. II, Paris-Strassbourg, 1862, p. 499.

I. Brennsohn: *Zur Anthropologie der Litauer*. Dorpat, 1883, p. 16—17.

language, thus reducing linguistic Lithuania by about 30,000 sq.km., the Lithuanian speaking population ca. 1860 being about 1,575,000, and forming a majority of 79% in a territory of 80,530 sq.km. (See table VI), 69,130 sq. km. being in Lithuania Propria and 11,400 sq. km. — in Lithuania Minor.

But 415,000 listed as Lithuanians ca. 1860 did not speak their old language, using instead Belorussian or Polish. The blackout of the Lithuanian printing and organizations in 1864 to 1904 by the Russian government denied these partially Slavicized Lithuanians all possibility to maintain ancient cultural contacts with the core of Lithuanian-speaking nation. Drastically persecuted and clandestine Lithuanian press from Prussia and United States did not reach the easternmost sections of Lithuania in the second half of the XIXth century. The eastern points of distribution of the Lithuanian press were Vilnius (main center) and towns of Adutiškis, Gervečiai (Gerwiaty), Dieveniškis and Rodunė — all in the government of Vilnius. Thus the above mentioned 415,000 Lithuanians of Slavic tongue were totally deprived of the influence of Lithuanian cultural and political renaissance, initiated by great leaders, such as bishop M. Valančius and Dr. J. Basanavičius. During this period of cultural prohibition (1864—1904) even a considerable wedge of Slavic languages penetrated deep into the heart of the Lithuanian territory from Ašmena (Oszmiany) to Vilnius, Trakai and the neighboring parishes.

Finally, we hope that this work will serve its purpose as an introductory note into the ethnic and linguistic geography of XIXth century Lithuania.

TABLE I

Earliest Statistics of Nationalities and Religions in the Territories
of Old Lithuania, 1861

<i>Nationalities:</i>	<i>Number:</i>	<i>Orthodox:</i>	<i>Catholics:</i>	<i>Pro- test.:</i>	<i>Jews:</i>	<i>Mos- lems:</i>
A. SLAVS:						
a) Rus						
Ukrainians	3,217,719	3,208,996	8,723	—	—	—
Russians	229,235	229,235	—	—	—	—
Belorussians	2,026,893	1,973,340	53,553	—	—	—
Polyanians	108,453	108,453	—	—	—	—
Derevlians	196,900	196,900	—	—	—	—
Krivichians	23,016	—	23,016	—	—	—
Volynians	93,744	93,744	—	—	—	—
Trivertsians,						
Ulichians	8,398	—	8,398	—	—	—
Croats	17,228	17,228	—	—	—	—
Rus	5,921,586	5,827,896	93,690	—	—	—
b) Poles	1,027,947	39,330	988,617	—	—	—
All Slavs:	6,949,533	5,867,226	1,082,307	—	—	—
B. LITHUANIANS:						
Lithuanians	1,043,093	217,586	826,507	—	—	—
Samogitians	425,600	4,886	420,714	—	—	—
Latvians	145,967	4,901	141,066	—	—	—
All Lithuanians	1,614,660	227,373	1,387,287	—	—	—
C. OTHER CHRISTIANS:						
Yatvingians	30,927	30,927	—	—	—	—
Moldavians	41,613	41,613	—	—	—	—
Germans	66,252	27	2,114	64,111	—	—
Other Christians	138,792	72,567	2,114	64,111	—	—
D. NON-CHRISTIANS:						
Jews	1,139,633	—	—	—	1,139,633	—
Tartars	6,763	—	—	—	—	6,763
All Non-Christian	1,146,396	—	—	—	1,139,633	6,763
ALL POPULATION	9,849,381	6,167,166	2,471,708	64,111	1,139,633	6,763

TABLE II

<i>Lithuanian Zone:</i>	<i>Sq. Versts:</i>	1846	1861	1897	1913
Gov. of Vilnius	36,825	793	838	1,591	1,981
Gov. of Kaunas	35,315	912	906	1,545	1,826
Gov. of Gardinas	33,900	874	790	1,603	2,025
Gov. of Suvalkai	10,824	c.450	c.470	605	718
Lithuanian Zone:	116,864	3,029	3,004	5,344	6,550
<i>Belorussian Zone:</i>					
Gov. of Minsk	80,152	1,011	1,017	2,148	2,964
Gov. of Mogilev	42,134	860	851	1,687	2,333
Gov. of Vitebsk	38,649	760	684	1,489	1,904
Belorussian Zone	160,935	2,631	2,552	5,324	7,201
<i>Ukrainian Zone:</i>					
Gov. of Volynia	63,036	1,414	1,426	2,990	4,041
Gov. of Kiev	44,777	1,730	1,718	3,559	4,744
Gov. of Podolia	36,921	1,540	1,619	3,018	3,924
Ukrainian Zone	144,734	4,684	4,763	9,567	12,709
Old Lithuania (1514—69)	422,554	10,344	10,319	20,235	26,460

TABLE III

Religion and Nationality in the Governments
of Lithuania by Counties, 1861

A. *Government of Kaunas*

<i>County of Kaunas</i>	<i>All Christians:</i>	<i>Orthodox:</i>	<i>Catholics:</i>
Belorussians	693	693	—
Ukrainians	603	603	—
Russians	1,141	1,141	—
Poles	6,322	—	6,322
Lithuanians	24,086	191	23,895
Samogitians	46,714	—	46,714
<i>County of Ukmerge</i>			
Russians	1,179	1,179	—
Poles	9,863	—	9,863
Lithuanians	103,754	—	103,754

Government of Kaunas All Christians: Orthodox: Catholics:

County of Zarasai

Belorussians	695	695	—
Russians	675	675	—
Poles	472	—	472
Lithuanians	97,927	214	97,713
Latvians	76	—	76

County of Panevėžys

Belorussians	27	27	—
Ukrainians	17	17	—
Russians	438	438	—
Poles	137	—	137
Lithuanians	78,730	30	78,700
Samogitians	25,288	—	25,288
Latvians	2,215	—	2,215

County of Raseiniai

Belorussians	101	101	—
Ukrainians	76	76	—
Russians	158	158	—
Poles	1,812	—	1,812
Lithuanians	3,110	50	3,060
Samogitians	112,358	44	112,314

County of Šiauliai

Russians	421	421	—
Poles	4,945	—	4,945
Samogitians	122,522	—	122,522
Latvians	168	—	168

County of Telšiai

Belorussians	32	32	—
Ukrainians	32	32	—
Russians	564	564	—
Poles	2,638	—	2,638
Lithuanians	79	79	—
Samogitians	113,906	30	113,876

<i>All Government of Kaunas</i>	<i>All Christians:</i>	<i>Orthodox:</i>	<i>Catholics:</i>
Belorussians	1,548	1,548	—
Ukrainians	728	728	—
Russians	4,576	4,576	—
Poles	26,189	—	26,189
Lithuanians	307,686	564	307,122
Samogitians	420,788	74	420,714
Latvians	2,459	—	2,459

B. *Government of Vilnius*

County of Vilnius

Belorussians	4,847	4,847	—
Ukrainians	684	684	—
Russians	983	983	—
Poles	47,140	—	47,140
Lithuanians	83,056	53	83,003

County of Trakai:

Belorussians	1,261	1,261	—
Russians	999	999	—
Poles	4,144	—	4,144
Lithuanians	91,070	382	90,688

County of Šventėnai

Belorussians	6,557	6,557	—
Russians	376	376	—
Poles	5,506	—	5,506
Lithuanians	82,135	1,626	80,509

County of Lyda (Lida)

Russians	7,265	7,265	—
Krivichians	23,016	—	23,016
Poles	7,385	—	7,385
Lithuanians	64,625	19,427	45,198

County of Ašmena

Belorussians	27,394	27,394	—
Poles	20,650	—	20,650
Lithuanians	65,098	2,527	62,571

Government of Vilnius All Christians: Orthodox: Catholics:

County of Vileika

Belorussians	48,808	46,199	2,609
Russians	5,266	5,266	—
Poles	24,092	—	24,092
Lithuanians	30,746	1,820	28,926

County of Dysna (Dzisna)

Belorussians	57,172	57,172	—
Ukrainians	17	17	—
Russians	41	41	—
Poles	45,469	—	45,469
Lithuanians	2,150	2,150	—

*All Government
of Vilnius*

Belorussians	146,041	143,432	2,609
Ukrainians	701	701	—
Russians	14,930	14,930	—
Krivichians	23,016	—	23,016
Poles	154,386	—	154,386
Lithuanians	418,880	27,985	390,895

C. *Government of Gardinas*

County of Gardinas (Grodno)

Belorussians	2,074	2,074	—
Russians	8,171	8,171	—
Poles	16,426	—	16,426
Lithuanians	46,270	29,856	16,414

County of Volkovysk

Belorussians	8,578	6,815	1,763
Russians	23,816	23,816	—
Ukrainians	15	15	—
Poles	9,032	—	9,032
Lithuanians	37,481	5,313	32,168
Yatvingians	2,845	2,845	—

<i>Government of Gardinas</i>	<i>All Christians:</i>	<i>Orthodox:</i>	<i>Catholics:</i>
<i>County of Slonim</i>			
Belorussians	1,305	1,305	—
Russians	18,328	18,328	—
Poles	9,890	—	9,890
Lithuanians	65,371	53,808	11,563
<i>County of Pružany</i>			
Ukrainians	30,263	30,263	—
Russians	307	307	—
Poles	6,447	—	6,447
Lithuanians	27,610	22,103	5,507
<i>County of Kobrin</i>			
Belorussians	2,614	2,614	—
Ukrainians	33,136	33,136	—
Russians	17,731	17,731	—
Buzhians	1,095	1,095	—
Poles	4,599	—	4,599
Lithuanians	539	—	539
Yatvingians	22,725	22,725	—
<i>County of Brest-Litovsk</i> <i>(Lietuvos Brasta)</i>			
Belorussians	1,205	1,205	—
Ukrainians	31,341	31,341	—
Russians	24,333	24,333	—
Buzhians	4,368	4,368	—
Poles	5,129	—	5,129
Lithuanians	17,210	13,322	3,888
<i>County of Białystok</i>			
Belorussians	10,103	10,103	—
Poles	48,564	98	48,566
Lithuanians	489	—	489
<i>County of Sokolka</i>			
Russians	4,218	4,218	—
Poles	48,063	—	48,063
Lithuanians	6,927	6,327	600

Government of Gardinas All Christians: Orthodox: Catholics:
County of Bielsk

Ukrainians	4,179	4,179	—
Russians	35,382	35,382	—
Poles	45,078	625	44,453
Yatvingians	3,741	3,741	—

All Government of Gardinas

Ukrainians	98,934	98,934	—
Belorussians	25,879	24,116	1,763
Russians	132,286	132,286	—
Buzhians	5,463	5,463	—
Poles	193,228	723	192,505
Lithuanians	201,897	130,729	71,168
Yatvingians	30,927	30,927	—

D. *Government of Suwalkai (Suwalki) (Estimate)*

Lithuanians	261,540	—	261,540
Poles	103,400	—	103,400
Belorussians	23,500	7,500	16,000

TABLE IV

Nationality and Religion in Four Lithuanian Governments

<i>A. Gov. of Kaunas</i>	<i>Total Pop.</i>	<i>Ortho-dox:</i>	<i>Catho-lics:</i>	<i>Pro-test.</i>	<i>Jews:</i>	<i>Mos-lems:</i>
Belorussians	1,548	1,548	—	—	—	—
Ukrainians	728	728	—	—	—	—
Russians	4,576	4,576	—	—	—	—
Poles	26,189	—	26,189	—	—	—
Lithuanians	307,686	564	307,122	—	—	—
Samogitians	420,788	74	420,714	—	—	—
Latvians	2,459	—	2,459	—	—	—
Germans	40,309	14	816	39,479	—	—
Jews	101,337	—	—	—	101,337	—
Tartars	418	—	—	—	—	418
Totals	906,038	7,504	757,300	39,479	101,337	418

B. *Gov. of Vilnius*

Belorussians	146,041	143,432	2,609	—	—	—
Ukrainians	701	701	—	—	—	—
Russians	14,930	14,930	—	—	—	—
Krivichians	23,016	—	23,016	—	—	—
Poles	154,386	—	154,386	—	—	—
Lithuanians	418,880	27,985	390,895	—	—	—
Germans	902	—	—	902	—	—
Jews	76,802	—	—	—	76,802	—
Tartars	2,416	—	—	—	—	2,416
Totals	838,074	187,048	570,906	902	76,802	2,416

C. *Gov. of Gardinas*

Belorussians	25,879	24,116	1,763	—	—	—
Ukrainians	98,934	98,934	—	—	—	—
Russians	132,286	132,286	—	—	—	—
Buzhians	5,463	5,463	—	—	—	—
Poles	193,228	723	192,505	—	—	—
Lithuanians	201,897	130,729	71,168	—	—	—
Yatvingians	30,927	30,927	—	—	—	—
Germans	5,564	—	1,098	4,466	—	—
Jews	94,219	—	—	—	94,219	—
Tartars	1,250	—	—	—	—	1,250
Totals	789,647	423,178	266,534	4,466	94,219	1,250

D. *Gov. of Suvalkai*

Lithuanians	261,540	—	261,540	—	—	—
Poles	103,400	—	103,400	—	—	—
Belorussians	23,500	7,500	16,000	—	—	—
Germans	23,500	—	500	23,500	—	—
Jews	47,000	—	—	—	47,000	—
Russians	9,400	9,400	—	—	—	—
Totals	468,340	16,900	481,440	23,500	47,000	—

TABLE V

<i>Four Governments of Lithuania: Totals</i>	<i>Total Pop.</i>	<i>Ortho- dox:</i>	<i>Catho- lics:</i>	<i>Pro- test.:</i>	<i>Jews:</i>	<i>Mos- lems:</i>
A. LITHUANIANS:						
a) <i>Lithuanians proper:</i>						
Lithuanians	1,200,003	159,238	1,040,768	—	—	—
Samogitians	420,788	74	420,714	—	—	—
Total	1,620,791	159,312	1,461,482	—	—	—
b) Yatvingians	30,927	30,927	—	—	—	—
c) Latvians	2,459	—	2,459	—	—	—
a, b, c, Totals	1,653,177	190,239	1,463,941	—	—	—
B. SLAVS:						
a) <i>Eastern Slavs:</i>						
Belorussians	196,968	176,596	20,372	—	—	—
Krivichians	23,016	—	23,016	—	—	—
Russians	161,192	161,192	—	—	—	—
Ukrainians	100,363	100,363	—	—	—	—
Buzhians	5,463	5,463	—	—	—	—
East Slavs: Total	487,002	443,614	43,388	—	—	—
b) <i>Western Slavs:</i>						
Poles	476,203	723	475,480	—	—	—
C. GERMAN:	70,275	14	2,414	67,847	—	—
D. JEWS:	319,358	—	—	—	319,358	—
E. TARTARS:	4,084	—	—	—	—	4,084
TOTAL						
POPULATION	3,010,099	634,590	1,985,223	67,847	319,358	4,084

TABLE VI

A. Ethnic Lithuania: 21 Counties with Lithuanian Marority, 1961

<i>Governments:</i>	<i>Area in sq. km.</i>	<i>Total Population:</i>	<i>Lithuanians:</i>	<i>Lithuanian %:</i>
Kaunas, 7 counties	40,188	906,038	728,474	84.0%
Vilnius, 5 counties	28,921	618,074	385,984	62.5%
Suvalkai, 5 counties	8,832	310,000	260,000	84.0%
Gardinas, 4 counties	19,845	353,100	176,932	50.7%
Ethnic Lithuania	97,786	2,187,212	1,551,410	71.0%

B. Area of Lithuanian Speaking Majority, 1861 (estimate)

<i>Governments:</i>	<i>Area in sq. km.</i>	<i>Total Population:</i>	<i>Lithuanians:</i>	<i>Lithuanian %:</i>
Gov. of Kaunas	40,000	900,000	728,400	84.1%
Gov. of Vilnius	19,500	420,000	330,000	78.6%
Gov. of Suvalkai	8,830	310,000	260,000	84.0%
Gov. of Gardinas	800	6,000	4,000	67.0%
Linguistic Lithuania	69,130	1,636,000	1,322,400	80.8%

TABLE VII

Lithuanian, Samogitian and Latvian Colonists in Belorussian and Ukrainian Provinces, 1861

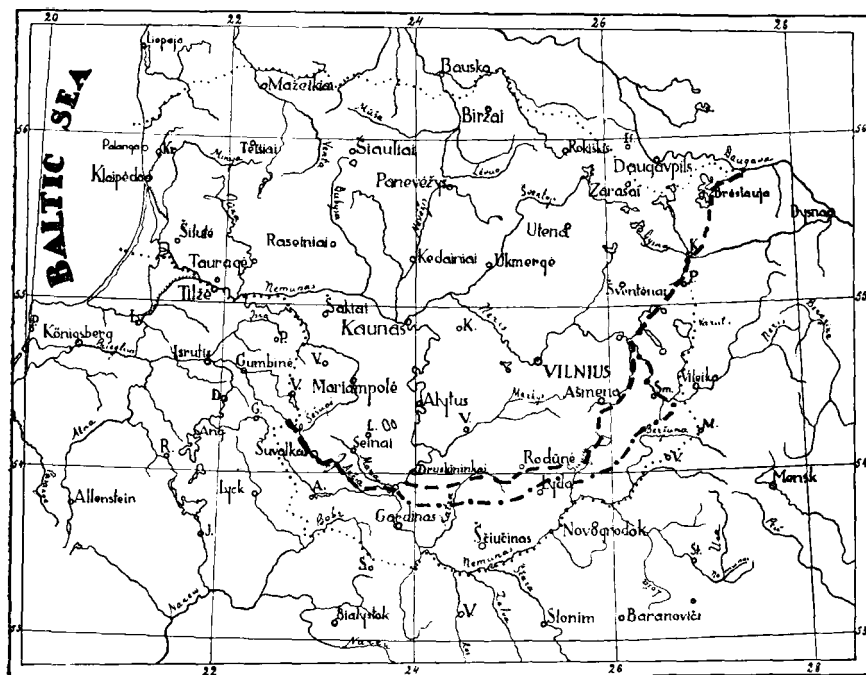
<i>Lithuanians in Belorussia:</i>		<i>Religion:</i>	<i>Lithuanians in Ukraine:</i>
<i>Gov. of Vitebsk</i>			<i>Gov. of Volynia—All Orthodox</i>
County of Lepel	219	Catholics	County of Zhitomir 329
			County of Lutsk 2,691
<i>Gov. of Mogilev</i>			
County of Orsha	13	Orthodox	County of Novg. Volynskiy 1,153
			County of Ostrog 1,777
			County of Ovruch 5,293
<i>Gov. of Minsk</i>			
County of Minsk	7,858	Catholics	
County of Borisov	19,082	„	<i>Gov. of Kiev—All Orthodox</i>
			County of Kanev 2,983
County of Bobruysk	230	„	County of Radomysl 32,252
County of Mozyr	1,205	„	County of Skvira 1,243
County of Novgorodok	9,744	„	
County of Pinsk	5,309	„	County of Tarashcha 1,548
County of Slutsk	20,721	56% Cath.	
Lith. in Belorussia	64,481		Lith in Ukraine 49,269
<i>Samogitians</i>		Orthodox	<i>Latvians in Volynia:</i>
<i>in Volynia:</i>			<i>Orthodox</i>
County of Kovel	4,812	Orthodox	County of Kovel 4,480

TABLE VIII

City population in ethnic Lithuania 1860—1864,
quoted from Justus Perthes' Geographisches Jahrbuch,

I. Band, Gotha, 1866

1. Vilnius	69,464	11. Kalvarija	8,845
2. Gardinas	26,187	12. Telšiai	8,791
3. Kaunas	23,937	13. Gumbinė	8,517
4. Klaipėda	17,375	14. Ukmergė	7,480
5. Tilžė	16,856	15. Panevėžys	7,249
6. Šiauliai	15,896	16. Naugardukas	6,650
7. Įsrutis	13,140	17. Volkavyskas	6,382
8. Suvalkai	12,573	18. Šventenai	5,808
9. Raseiniai	12,465	19. Naumištis	5,692
10. Slanimas	10,782	20. Vilkaviškis	5,591
21. Zarasai	4,634	31. Šeduva	2,611
22. Dysna	4,149	32. Lyda	2,574
23. Marijampolė	3,864	33. Vileika	2,567
24. Stalupėnai	3,730	34. Tauragė	2,434
25. Kedainiai	3,728	35. Pilkalnis	2,189
26. Vištytis	3,630	36. Trakai	1,875
27. Ragainė	3,575	37. Kuznica	1,383
28. Seinai	3,551	38. Palanga	1,350
29. Ašmena	3,317	39. Radaskavičiai	1,239
30. Druja	2,815	40. Vidžiai	1,383
		41. Jurbarkas	728



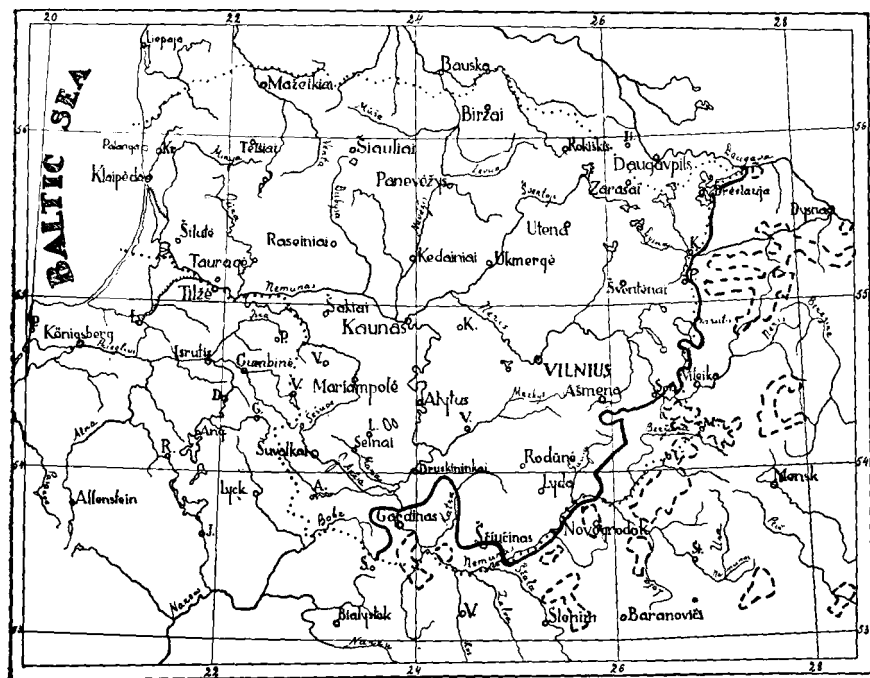
Map 1

Eastern limits of the Lithuanian-speaking majority ca. 1850—1870

Lithuanian language preponderance eastern limits are based on the historian T. Narbutt' research; his line is indicated by dashes — — — — — (From A. Korevo: Vilenskaya Guberniya, Sanktpeterburg, 1861).

Maximum extension of the Lithuanian-speaking zone is shown by dashes and dots — . — . — , according to M. Koyalovich (1865) and A. F. Rittich (1873).

Dots indicate the boundary of the Lithuanian Republic, as traced by the international treaties of 1920—1923



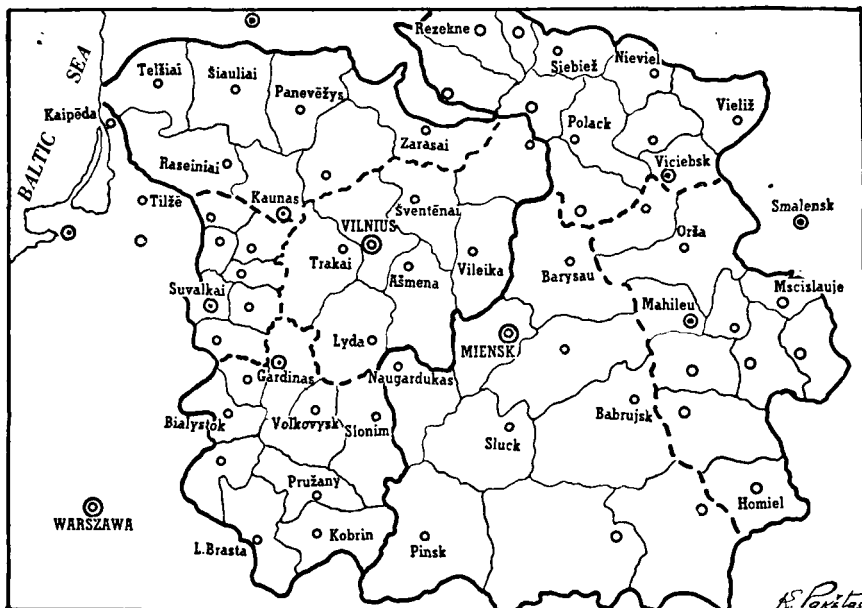
Map 2

*Eastern limits of the Catholic majority and of preponderance
of Western civilization in Lithuania*

Continuous line indicates eastern limits of the Catholic majority. Dashes — — indicate Catholic "islands" spread among the Orthodox majority.

The dots show the boundaries of Lithuania, traced by the international treaties of 1920—1923.

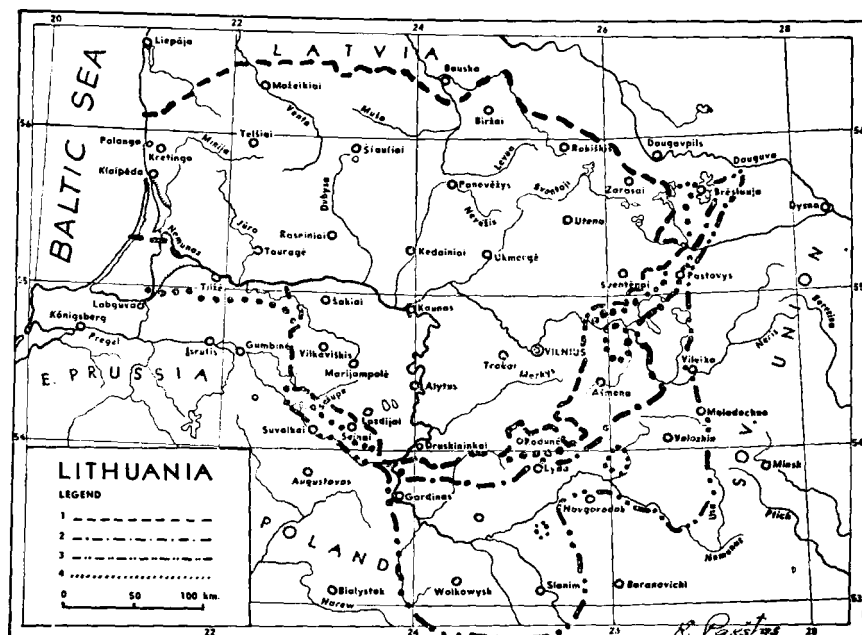
Religious limits were traced after Elisée Reclus. This erudite geographer consulted the best informed scholars from each particular region. To him and his associates, as to the many observers of the present time, religion (and toponomastics) is the best criterium of the ethnic boundary in eastern and southern Lithuania as Reclus says when explaining his map: "The religious coincide on the whole with the ethnical limits. Wherever the Roman Catholic yields to the Orthodox Greek worship, the Lithuanians, mingled with White Russians in speech, but probably Lithuanians in blood, are supplanted by Russian Slavs". The religio-ethnic principle of this map has been followed by the Lithuano-Soviet Peace Treaty at Moscow, July 12, 1920. (E. Reclus: *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, Paris, 1880. Vol. V., p. 428—429.



Map 3

Lithuania after the conclusion of Confederal Union with Poland in 1569

These boundaries with some smaller changes existed from 1569 to 1772. Boundaries of governments and counties indicated here are as of 1842—1915. A continuous heavy line separates Lithuanian governments from Belorussian. National capitals are indicated by the double circles, county seats — by single circles, government seats — by dott in the circle.



Map 4

Lithuania from 1861 to 1958

Legend:

- 1 Boundaries of sovietized Lithuania traced by the Soviets at the end of 1940, comprising 65,197 sk. km.
- 2 Eastern limits of the preponderance of the Lithuanian language, traced by T. Narbut, A. F. Rittich, Korevo etc. (1856—1873).
- 3 The eastern and southern ethnic boundary of Lithuanian nation based on the statistics of M. Lebedkin (1861) and the Polish Geographic Dictionary (1884).
- 4 Lithuanian language areas on the information collected by the author, 1950—57.